1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó́ village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp
T ●[136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó́ families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five
T T 727 houses with buildings under construction among them. The Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever
T 241 was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of remarkably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the
T 764 villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/
B 186 not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

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naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On